

## Message Text

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ORIGIN ARA-17

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NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-14 T-03 NIC-01

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY PANAMA FLASH

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 048656

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, PN

SUBJECT: SC MEETING PANAMA

REF: PANAMA 1373

FOR US DEL

1. DEPT SEES CERTAIN PITFALLS IN USING RIGHT OF REPLY  
TO ENGAGE CUBANS IN DEBATE ON EXPORT OF REVOLUTION  
OR SUBVERSION:

A. WHILE CUBAN EXPORT OF REVOLUTION INDEED CONTINUES, IT  
IS ON A REDUCED SCALE, AND USABLE EVIDENCE WE HAVE LACKS  
PUNCH OF DRAMATIC CASES OF CUBAN INTERVENTIONISM THAT  
BROUGHT ABOUT OAS ACTIONS IN 1964 AND 1967.

B. OUR POSITION ( PAPER NUMBER P) IS THAT SECURITY COUNCIL  
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SHOULD NOT BE DISCUSSING OR WEIGHING OAS ACTIONS AGAINST  
CUBA, AS THIS IS BUSINESS OF OAS.

C. FOR US TO TAKE UP CUDGELS AGAINST CUBANS ON THIS ISSUE TENDS TO CONVERT IT INTO BILATERAL RATHER THAN MULTILATERAL OAS ISSUE.

D. FOR US TO GIVE EVIDENCE OF CUBAN SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES IN LA COUNTRIES REPRESENTED AT UNSC MEETING ( E. G. VENEZUELA, ECUADOR, MEXICO, CHILE) RAISES QUESTION OF US ACTING AS THEIR SPOKESMAN, ESPECIALLY IN CASES WHERE SUCH GOVERNMENTS ARE ADVOCATES OF MODIFYING OAS CUBA POLICY.

2. NEVERTHELESS, IF YOU BELIEVE CUBAN REMARKS WARRANT REBUTTAL, YOU COULD DRAW ON FOLLOWING MATERIAL AS EXAMPLES.

3. CUBAN STATEMENTS

A. AT INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT ALLENDE IN SANTIAGO IN NOVEMBER 1970, CARLOS RAFAEL RODRIGUEZ, HEAD OF THE CUBAN DELEGATION TO THE INAUGURATION AND MEMBER OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE CUBAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE STATED:

" THE ROAD OF ARMED STRUGGLE IN LATIN AMERICA ... CONTINUES TO BE THE ONLY ONE AVAILABLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF PEOPLES. THE CASE OF CHILE, IN WHICH THE REVOLUTION ARRIVED IN POWER THROUGH ELECTORAL MEANS, CONSTITUTES AN EXCEPTIONAL SITUATION. NO OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY COULD REPEAT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN CHILE. FOR ALL OF THEM THERE IS NO OTHER ROAD THAN THE VIOLENT WAY."

EARLIER RODRIGUEZ HAD TOLD NEWSMEN AT THE UNITED NATIONS IN MARCH 1970:

" CUBA SUPPORTS LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA ... THIS IS NOT ONLY OUR RIGHT, BUT OUR DUTY."

B. AT LENIN CENTENNIAL CEREMONY IN HAVANA ON 22 APRIL 1970 CASTRO STATED:

" CUBA HAS NEVER DENIED, NOR WILL IT EVER DENY, SUPPORT TO  
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THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT. ... REVOLUTIONARIES LIKE CHE, WILLING TO STRUGGLE TO THE FINAL CONSEQUENCES, WILLING TO FIGHT, TO DIE -- THEY WILL ALWAYS BE ABLE TO COUNT ON CUBA'S HELP...."

C. IN SPEECH ON 19 APRIL 1971 CASTRO SPOKE OF CUBAN SUPPORT TO REVOLUTION:

" THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA CAN COUNT ON US; THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENTS OF LATIN AMERICA CAN

COUNT ON US. WE SAY SO CLEARLY AND PUBLICLY.

" IN LATIN AMERICA, AT THE TIME AND HOUR WHEN OTHER BROTHER  
REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES ASK FOR TECHNICAL AID OR TECHNICIANS  
OR SOLDIERS - OR SOLDIERS - COMBATANTS - AS OUR MOST  
SACRED DUTY - WE SHALL FURNISH THEM."

#### 4. CUBAN ACTIONS

A. LIBERATION DIRECTORATE WAS FORMED WITHIN CUBAN GOVT  
DURING 1970 REORGANIZATION OF CUBAN INTELLIGENCE TO  
CONDUCT BUSINESS OF FOSTERING REVOLUTION ABROAD APART FROM  
THE AEGIS OF THE GENERAL DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE ( DGI).  
IT, IN EFFECT, RECONSTITUTED THOSE SECTIONS OF THE DGI,  
NOTABLY THE EUROPEAN, LATIN AMERICAN, AND AFRICA/ NEAR  
EASTERN SECTIONS, DEVOTED TO THIS ACTIVITY. IT IS  
HEADED BY CUBA' S FOREMOST EXPONENT OF REVOLUTION AFTER  
FIDEL CASTRO, MANUEL PINEIRO LOSADA, OTHERWISE KNOWN AS  
" BARBA ROJA." THE LD HAS A STAFF OF SOME 400 MEMBERS.  
THERE IS EVIDENCE OF SPECIAL TRAINING SITES FOR STREET-  
FIGHTING TACTICS, MOUNTAIN AND JUNGLE WARFARE, AND SITES  
IN HAVANA FOR COMMUNICATIONS, INTELLIGENCE, AND TECHNICAL  
OPERATIONS TRAINING.

B. PRENSA LATINA OFFICES HAVE BEEN USED EFFECTIVELY IN  
SOME CASES TO GAIN A Foothold. IN OTHER CASES THIS HAS  
NOT SUCCEEDED. THE PRENSA LATINA OFFICE IN MONTEVIDEO WAS  
CLOSED IN JUNE 1971 UNDER THE FOLLOWING CHARGES:  
PUBLICATION OF INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED WITH THE ABDUCTORS OF  
THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR GEOFFREY JACKSON ON URUGUAYAN SOIL;  
EXCHANGE WITH HAVANA OF SUBVERSIVE MATERIAL, SENDING IN  
INTELLIGENCE ON THE SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS AND RECEIVING  
POLITICAL COMMENTARIES IN SUPPORT OF SUBVERSIVE ACTS IN  
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OTHER COUNTRIES; CONTRIBUTING TO INCREASING POLITICAL AND  
SOCIAL TURMOIL, AND CONSPIRING AGAINST THE COUNTRY' S  
SECURITY. ECUADOR IN MAY 1972 ARRESTED AND EXPELLED ITS  
TWO PRENSA LATINA REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE COUNTRY. ONE  
WAS LUIS FERNANDEZ OJEDA, FORMERLY DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF  
PRENSA LATINA IN HAVANA AND A CUBAN INTELLIGENCE OFFICER,  
WHO HAD ONLY ARRIVED IN ECUADOR A SHORT TIME PREVIOUSLY.

C. EVER SINCE DEFEAT OF CHE GUEVARA AT BOLIVIAN HANDS,  
BOLIVIA HAS BEEN A PRIME TARGET FOR CUBAN SUBVERSION.  
SHORTLY AFTER GUEVARA' S DEATH, CASTRO STATED THAT HE WOULD  
INSTALL A LEFTIST GOVERNMENT IN BOLIVIA BY VIOLENT  
REVOLUTION REGARDLESS OF TIME OR COST. TO THIS END A  
SPECIAL CUBAN INTELLIGENCE UNIT WAS SET UP IN HAVANA  
COMPOSED OF EIGHT OFFICERS OF THE THEN GENERAL  
DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE TO REBUILD THE SCATTERED

REMNANTS OF GUEVARA'S NATIONAL ARMY OF LIBERATION (ELN). THE UNIT PROVIDED DIRECTION, TRAINING, AND FUNDS FOR THE ELN IN EXILE. IN APRIL 1972, A RAID ON ELN BASES IN BOLIVIA RESULTED IN CAPTURE OF ARSENALS AND THE ARREST OF SOME 150 SUSPECTS, AMONG THEM ONE LOYOLA GUZMAN, FORMER COURIER FOR GUEVARA, WHO HAD RETURNED SECRETLY TO BOLIVIA FROM CUBA AT AN UNDETERMINED DATE.

D. CUBA HAS PROVIDED SAFEHAVEN FOR NUMEROUS TUPAMAROS WHO WERE PERMITTED BY THE URUGUAYAN GOVERNMENT TO CHOOSE EXILE IN CHILE; THEY TRAVELLED FROM CHILE TO CUBA, WHERE THEY REMAINED FOR VARYING LENGTHS OF TIME IN WHICH ADDITIONAL TRAINING AND GUIDANCE WERE PROVIDED, AND THEN RETURNED TO URUGUAY.

E. DOMINICAN REPUBLIC HAS BEEN A CUBAN TARGET LONGER THAN ANY OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY. TRAINED IN GUERRILLA WARFARE, SUBVERSION AND EXPLOSIVES NUMEROUS DOMINICAN REVOLUTIONARIES FROM MANY FACTIONS- MPD (DOMINICAN POPULAR MOVEMENT); MR-1 J4 (14 TH OF JUNE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT), PDC (DOMINICAN COMMUNIST PARTY) AND OTHERS. FROM 1968 TO JANUARY 1972, CUBA HAD SENT AT LEAST DOLS 50,000 TO THE MR-1 J4. OTHER REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS HAVE RECEIVED OTHER FUNDS THROUGH CLANDESTINE CHANNELS. ROGERS

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